1: Gillin 5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

by Roth,[1] although the design in the weaving is confined to square and rectangular figures produced by twilled technique. They are used for storing clothing and personal effects, and are usually kept closed by a cord which is tied securely around both halves.

A variety of quakes, or general utility baskets (kuru kuru), are in use. They are practically all open wickerwork of the hexagonal pattern, without decoration (Plate 22, *a*). They all have hexagon bases, and the details of their construction may be obtained in Roth.[2] Occasionally these baskets are provided with handles. They are for the most part used for storing cassava and other vegetable products.

No other basketry or plaited articles than those described above were observed on the Barama. Fish traps and basketry water bottles, found in other parts of the colony, are not in use here.

Feather-working. This is not one of the arts of the Barama Caribs. Feathers are used on arrows, they are stuck in the hair occasionally as decoration, tufts of feathers may be used in making decorative pendants, and tufts of white powis down are sometimes stuck with honey to the forehead as decoration, but elaborate headdresses, armlets, and so forth, made of feathers, are not to be found in this region.

TRANSPORTATION

THE Caribs have no beasts of burden or wheeled vehicles, so that all transportation depends in the last analysis upon the strength and endurance of the human body.

Land Transport. On land all goods to be transported must be carried on human backs. Radiating from each settlement are a number of trails leading off into the bush, which are followed by men when hunting. Below the falls at Towakaima, the connection between different settlements is usually made by river. The village may be located from one to fifteen miles back from the river by trail, but to reach a neighboring settlement, it is necessary to take the path to the riverside and proceed by canoe to the landing place of the settlement which is to be visited. The three Kariako settlements and Parapimai are connected by trail, as are

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 345.
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 322, ff.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

487 Towakaima and Massawini, but these are exceptions on the lower
361 Barama. Usually, however, each village has more than one trail to the river, perhaps a survival of a more warlike period when alternative means of escape were required in times of attack. On the upper Barama, where the river is less navigable than below the falls, all the settlements are connected by trail, and most of the traveling is done overland.

487 A trail is, after all, only a convenience which is not absolutely
[823] necessary to a Carib and, when traveling lightly loaded, a man does not hesitate to "walk the raw bush" if there is a possibility thereby of saving time. And it is as a result of these raw bush walks that most of the trails are established. The ability of a native to find his way in the unmarked forest is truly astounding to a foreigner, who, until he has become accustomed to jungle conditions, loses all sense of direction once he finds himself surrounded by trees and thick undergrowth which frequently shut out even a view of the sun's position. The river is, however, the lode star of the traveling Carib and, as long as he knows his position in reference to it, he does not lose his bearings. It is believed that moss on the tree trunks invariably grows on the side of the tree which is nearest the river, and I have had this fact pointed out to me many times. Also, men are familiar with the general position of the creeks which flow into the river along the course which they are taking, even if they have never seen the creeks themselves; so that once a creek is reached, one usually knows one's approximate whereabouts. If a man is lost he will keep on until he reaches the next creek, follow it to the river, and then follow the river to a point which is familiar. As a man walks the bush, however, he takes precautions to mark his trail so that he may back-track, if necessary. As has been said before, a cutlass is always carried by individuals when in the bush. As one goes along one hacks the tops of the saplings at practically every step, so that the tops fall over in the direction which one is taking. With the left hand, twigs and saplings are broken and bent over in the same manner. A mutilation of this kind is practically never produced by natural causes, so that a bent or hacked sapling top immediately announces to a traveller that a human being has passed there. Also, the trunks of the trees are slashed with the cutlass as one goes along, leaving gashes in the bark which can be easily identified as trail blazes.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

This hacking and bending and slashing of the surrounding vegetation becomes unconscious, and natives usually continue the practise unthinkingly even when travelling on a well marked trail. If another man later follows a trail thus blazed, he cuts and slashes as he goes along, thus opening the pathway, and is followed by others doing the same until a trail which has come into general use, such as that from Towakaima to Kurewa, is a well worn footway averaging about two feet in width through the undergrowth.

A number of signs are used to inform members of the party following at a distance of the movements of the advance section. Thus, when a branching of the trails is met, the leader cuts a fresh sapling so that it falls across the branch of the path which he is not taking. The followers then know that they are to take the open path. Another method is to set up a cross or a pointer which is made of an upright stick set in the ground at the meeting of two paths. The upper part of the stick is split, and into the fork is set a transverse splinter pointing in the direction which is to be followed. In addition, followers look for freshly broken saplings and freshly slashed tree trunks along the path. When approaching a settlement, strangers always stop at the edge of the house clearing and strike loudly with their cutlasses on the base of a mora tree. The mora has a trunk which gives forth a resounding boom when struck, and thus announces the advent of strangers to the residents. The visitors wait until some person in authority has bid them enter. On coming into a strange settlement it is bad form to look about until one has been properly welcomed by the host. The eyes are kept on the ground until one has had a drink of cassiri and a smoke. When leaving, it is bad luck to look back or to return for something forgotten.

The Caribs wear no foot covering, a usage which enables them to maintain a footing in places where it is often difficult for a shod traveller to keep his balance. In the deep forest the trails are usually wet, due to the frequent rains and lack of sunlight amid the foliage. The surface underfoot is covered with slime and soaked leaves, the bushes and trees which hang over the trail continually drip moisture, slippery roots of trees twine across the trail, and logs and fallen limbs must be continually climbed over or crawled under. Advantage is taken of all fallen logs which lie in the direc-

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 **External Contacts of the Settlement.** The Sawari settlement,
162 with a population of twenty-six adults and twenty-one children, includes three residential clearings and several associated agricultural fields or gardens. As can be seen from Figure 9, a nearly straight line running from northeast to southwest can be drawn through the three clearings where the people live. The clearing occupied by John Miller, the headman of the whole settlement, lies farthest to the southwest. About a half-mile northeastward, separated by intervening jungle, is the house clearing of Edwin. And perhaps three-quarters of a mile northeastward of Edwin's house lies the clearing for the houses of John Cook, Henry Daniel, John and Daniel. This arrangement of the several divisions of the community is reflected in the social positions of the members affected thereby.

103 As is the case with all Carib settlements on the Barama, Sawari takes its name from the creek where the people get their water supply. The Sawari Creek, so named from the numerous sawari-nut trees (*Caryocar Pekea tuberculosa*) which grow along its banks, flows south of Miller's clearing, passes east of Edwin's clearing, and empties into the Barama at a point almost directly north of the latter.

361 Outside contact at the time of my appearance at Sawari was maintained with the settlements of Haiari and Kwamata across the river, and with Kurewa, which lies about midway between
[487] Sawari and Towakaima itself. (See Figure 1.) An old trail running southwestward to the higher settlements of the upper Barama had not been used for several years, and the Sawari Caribs were completely out of touch with those farther up the river.

484 This section of the country is unmapped, and reliable estimates of linear distances are impossible without instruments because of the meandering courses which both the jungle trails and the streams pursue. Consequently, distances are usually spoken of by the Indians in terms of the length of time required for a reasonably swift man to cover them. On this basis Haiari is three hours
(361) distant, but men travelling with loads usually take at least five hours or half a day. Kwamata is about six hours. Kurewa is about twelve hours, a long day away.

177 The source of such European influence as exists in this region
361 is Towakaima. On the left bank of the river, at a distance of about

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

during my stay in the settlement a visit was made by one Charles Bell, a negro prospector who was working alluvial gold near the settlement of Haiari, and it is not improbable that other negroes have visited the place. Therefore, the statement that Sawari had hitherto been spared the visit of a white man does not eliminate the fact that some European cultural influence has trickled through. However, continued and intensive contact must be present to affect radically the lives of these people who live in the depths of the forest; and at present only the shop and the Pestanos at Towakaima afford tangible media for these influences. John Miller, the headman of Sawari, spent three years in hospital and jail in Georgetown, as related later in this section. His contact with civilization seems to have had no important cultural effect on Sawari.

Towakaima may be reached from Sawari by any one of three different routes. First, in two days of fast hiking one can travel from Sawari to Towakaima by the trail through the bush south of the river. This trail passes through the settlement of Kurewa. My party, with eighty-pound loads on their backs, required two days and a half to negotiate the distance on a forced march. Second, by trail north of the river through the settlement of Kwamata, Towakaima may be reached, with loads, in two days or slightly less. And third, by river, two to six days are required, depending upon the height of the water. Coming up the river in the third week of December, with water at middle height, our party required six days.[1]

Physical Plan of the Settlement. Sawari comprises three residential districts or clearings, lying on an approximately straight, but imaginary line, running roughly northeast to southwest. I shall designate these three divisions in English as the Caribs do in their own language, John Miller's clearing, Edwin's clearing, and John Cook's clearing.[2] Figure 9 shows the general plan of the entire Sawari settlement.

Nearby Miller's clearing are three fields which are at present

[1] The official government map in the archives of the Department of Lands and Mines in Georgetown, a tracing of which was supplied to me through the kindness of the Hon. John Mullin, shows blank the territory of the upper Barama between the Anamu and Baramita Rivers. The course of the river as drawn is marked "supposed course of the Barama." During the river journey from Towakaima to Sawari the Harvard Expedition encountered river rapids of sufficient size to necessitate portaging the loads of the expedition's corials. These rapids, as well as the ranges of the hills which must be crossed on the Kwamata line, form effective barriers to more frequent intercourse.

[2] John Miller and John Cook say that they have been officially baptized by a missionary at Aranka. Other members of this settlement, as is the case with all the Caribs on the Barama, also have English names because of tabus which limit the use of their Carib names, even among themselves. For the sake of clarity the English names will be used here.

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1r Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

a, Following the trail along a fallen log. The photograph gives some idea of the thick underbrush and gloom of the deep forest.

b, The Carib, Alec William, playing a three-holed flute made from the tibia bone of a deer.

[End plate 26]

000 at Aranka on the Lower Barama.

*177 All during this early period of gold activities, the river system
175 predominated as the route of transportation and communication. To
• [487] move down the river was to go toward greater penetration of outside influences. Conversely, the Great Falls at Towakaima remained the
133 gateway to the Upper Barama. However, the Upper Barama is often
487 unnavigable. The water height fluctuates greatly with seasonal rainfall. The low water level exposes numerous fallen trees and
*177 impedes or prohibits river travel. Thus, the bush trails that follow
175 along the river course were as important for transportation as the
487 river itself.

There also existed bush trails which ran overland between the Barama River and the Cuyuni River to the south, and the Barima River
*177 to the north. During the peak of early gold activities, a government
175 trail connected Towakaima, located on the Barama River, and Arakaka,
653 located on the Barima River. This trail was about twenty-nine miles
487 long, graveled and ditched for use by mule and cart traffic. However, by 1932, this trail had fallen out of use (Gillin 1936:107).

*177 Clearly, the river system was the lodestar of direction used by
175 the early gold seekers. Also, with river travel and bush trails,
[489] internal communication and transportation links within this region of the North West District were more developed than links to Georgetown. Later, air travel eclipsed the river as the main artery of communication and transportation. The most immediate links outside the Upper Barama area became those to Georgetown via Timehri Airport.
[439] The nature of the material exchanges which flowed along regional networks also changed.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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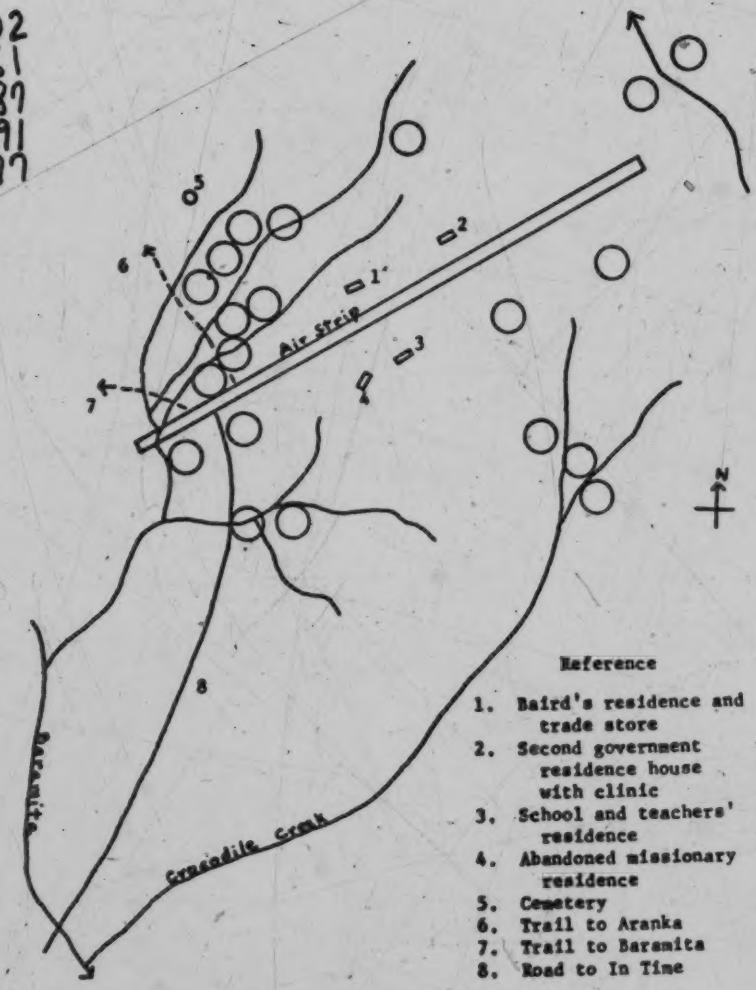

Figure 13. Sketch Map of Baramita Air Strip Settlement. Carib clearing = ○